

OCT 21 1952

Mr. Lewis K. Gough
National Commander
The American Legion
Indianapolis 6, Indiana

Dear Commander Gough:

Thank you for your letter of 14 October 1952 enclosing a copy of your address at the annual luncheon of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce on 7 October.

With much interest I read your address and was impressed by your analysis of the current world situation as you discussed it from a G-2 viewpoint.

You touched a soft spot in my Hoosier heart when you stated: "Today is the birthday of the immortal Hoosier poet, of my Dad's hometown of Greenfield, James Whitcomb Riley, and all of us might recall his famous words,--'The gobble-uns'll git you--if you don't watch out,'"

I was glad to have had the opportunity of talking to you and I hope to see you when you return home from your trip.

Faithfully,

SIGNED

Walter B. Smith
Director

ODCI: SJGrogan/nhh

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REMARKS: for preparation of reply for DCI
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THE AMERICAN LEGION
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

OFFICE OF THE
NATIONAL COMMANDER
INDIANAPOLIS 6, IND.

October 14, 1952

General Walter Bedell Smith, Director
Central Intelligence Agency
2430 E Street
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Smith:

First let me thank you for your courtesy and helpful briefing at the time of my visit to the Central Intelligence Agency several weeks ago.

In line with our conversation of that morning, I am enclosing a speech given before the Annual Luncheon of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce and the Commanders' and Adjutants' meeting which is related to the general theme we discussed. I have endeavored to approach the problem in a rather different manner and thought you would be interested in glancing over the talk.

I hope I will have the opportunity of seeing you when I return from Korea.

Sincerely,



LEWIS K. GOUGH
National Commander

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* Address by National Commander Lewis K. Gough *
* of The American Legion before the Annual Lun- *
* cheon of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce *
* at Hotel Antlers, October 7, 1952. *
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GOVERNOR SCHRICKER, MAYOR CLARK, PRESIDENT FENSTERMAKER, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS,
MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

The genuine Hoosier hospitality you are expressing to The American Legion
on this occasion is most gratifying and deeply appreciated.

I am doubly proud to have this opportunity of appearing before you today .
. . . proud that Indianapolis is the home of National Headquarters of The American
Legion . . . and proud that my taproots are deep in the soil of Indiana.

In naval parlance, while I actually was launched in California, my keel
was laid in Indiana. For my mother was born in Bourbon, and my father hailed from
nearby Greenfield.

Again in naval parlance, and in keeping with tradition established by
past National Commanders before me, when speaking at this annual affair, I shall
bring today to you an "estimate of the situation" -- a frank estimate of where
we are today in history as we of The American Legion see it.

There never was a time in the history of America when we faced a greater
menace than we do today. World War III, Russian style, is here and already is far
advanced. The chips are down and we are far from winning. In fact, the conquests
of the enemy today constitute our FINAL WARNING.

Most of us here are familiar with military nomenclature - G-1, -G-2,
and so on. For those of you who are not, G-2 is the designation of Intelligence -
G-3 Plans and Training (or Operations).. Because the greatest need today is first
to understand adequately the challenge of communism which confronts us, and
secondly to plan intelligently to meet it, I shall delve into the realms of these
two classifications in making this estimate.

A G-2 analyst submerges himself into the character of the enemy - endeavors
to think as he would and in line with his objectives looks through his eyes to
determine his courses of action in order best to counteract them.

Let us therefore consider, unpleasant as it may be, that we are now Soviet
leaders and I speak to you as a master of the Kremlin, giving you a briefing to
determine our future Soviet strategy for conquest.

I realize fully the tremendous barrier it is necessary to break down
before you, as loyal Americans, can be brought to imagine yourselves in the position
of communists. This barrier is traditional, and lifelong, and even to attempt to
see through the eyes of the communists is repugnant. Nevertheless I am going to

ask you, just a few minutes, to consider yourselves as Stalinists while I endeavor to act as the official spokesman for the Kremlin.

Let me show you why, if I were a Soviet Stalinite today, I would be proud. The growth of the Russian Empire has been the most gigantic of any nation in all history. This tremendous expansion is graphically illustrated on the accompanying charts.

1. The small red spot indicates the little barbaric barony of the Fourteenth Century, from which Russia has fought its way to world power.
2. By 1500 this was Russia. . . before taking over the vastness of Siberia.
3. In 1939, Russia had grown until it encompassed 8 million square miles and had a population of 170 million people.
4. Today Russia's vast Communist Empire covers 13 million square miles, with a staggering population of 800 millions! 37 out of every 100 people are today within Communist domination. No king or emperor or dictator ever rules supreme over so great a domain.

Still in the character of the Soviet enemy, permit me to point out to you Russia's objectives, our weapons, our courses of action. Like Hitler in Mein Kampf, Stalin, Marx and Lenin have clearly stated our objectives for all to see.

Our Communist Manifesto, the textbook of the party, sums up the over-all objective of communism as "abolition of private property . . . abolition of individuality and freedom of the bourgeois."

Our communist leaders openly advocate the use of violence as necessary to overthrow existing social conditions. The records shows that at least 14 times Lenin and Stalin have written that the transformation of society to a proletarian dictatorship condones the use of force and violence - - as they continue to emphasize our basic axiom. . . "The end justifies any means."

Power, the consolidated and invincible power of the dictator, is the end objective of all communist theory and practice. All executive, legislative and judicial power is confined to 13 men in the Communist Party -- the Politburo. Our power is not based on any constitution. Constitutions and treaties are but tools of convenience and propaganda.

Enslavement and domination of the minds and hearts of men all over the world is necessary to achieve our goals. Stalin has said: - "Our revolution is a world revolution -- the final victory is possible only on an international scale -- and Stalin quotes Lenin as follows" "It is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable". Stalin

comments further - "Clear, one would think" -- and it certainly is,

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What are our Soviet weapons? Revolution, fifth columns, assassination.

propaganda, purges, satellite wars, plus military and atomic weapons as threats.

Our main weapon is an IDEA -- no bayonet can ever stop an idea. The complacent West does not endeavor to sell its ideas, but contents itself with feeding empty stomachs. This is expensive and the effect of a square meal is lost overnight. An idea is long lasting and it costs little to plant it.

Our program of promises (which we never fulfill) is more appealing than their handout. Moreover until free enterprise is presented in a way that will capture the imagination of the masses, it can never cope with the impact of communism.

Our propaganda commands more thought and effort than does our armament. We spent \$840,000,000 last year on broadcasts, news services, films, financing agitators -- \$48,000,000 more to train propagandists; \$40,000,000 for books and pamphlets. We spend ten times more than the stupid, apathetic, wishful-thinking United States. We train one hundred times more personnel to sell our idea than the United States trains to counter our efforts in any way.

We Russians have deep pride in our political warfare colleges, the only colleges in the world where psychological warfare has been reduced to science. Lenin University, Eastern and Western Universities, The Academy of Red Professors train master strategists in propaganda and agitation, specializing for assignment to individual countries. In addition we have special schools for radio communication and political police. New training colleges have been opened in both satellite and non-communist countries, with a number of important ones in the United States.

You would think that the very existence of these political warfare colleges would signal our broad design and intent, namely, to wage persistent warfare on the political front, to bring the people of all nations under the rule of Stalinism.

The thousands of graduates of these war colleges which we are turning loose on the world each year are of more value to our cause than even the Russian military. And the thought has never occurred to the dull minds of the leaders of the United States to establish a counterattack through creating similar colleges.

Our Fifth Columns are on hand worldwide to exploit trouble and grab power where opportunity offers. We communists grabbed Eastern Europe with 150 million people and strong industries through this method.

Assassination is another good weapon. It worked effectively in Iran, Pakistan and Jordan, and a radical Puerto Rican almost got the President of the United States.

Shooting war has its place -- either guerilla or civil war. China was taken in civil war. Guerilla war is now tying up Western soldiers in far away Indo-China and Malaya. Korea ties up more Western forces and not a single one of

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our Russian soldiers has been committed yet. Vast conquests of peoples, raw

material and industries are brought into our new empire at small cost.

Now let us analyze our course of action. Deceit and surprise go hand in hand. Stalin once stated, as quoted by Leon Trotsky, - "Prepare for blows against the enemy in such a manner that he does not suspect how these blows are going to be delivered; then to annihilate him in a manner he least expects is the greatest pleasure a Bolshevik can have. After such an accomplishment, he can go to bed and have a real good sleep".

We lull our enemies to sleep before we attack. This is the purpose of the "peace" campaigns in which through diplomatic maneuvers, our victims are led to believe and think of nothing but peace - while we sharpen our dagger to stab their backs. Witness the recent poll in France which proves that most French people believe that the Soviet Union stands for peace while the impatient, aggressive, imperialistic trigger-happy United States seeks world dominion through the violence of war. That one took a bit of selling, but the largest political party there is dominated by us.

We Soviets expected that after we violated all our major pledges the agreements of Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam would be completely invalidated by the Western powers. This did not occur. Our psychological propaganda program was probably responsible.

Our purges have been effective in keeping control in the homeland. Many have heard of the Katyn Wood murders but few have heard of the 35,000 Russian Army officers who were purged in the 1936-38 period. It had to be done to control our military. We prevented news of the farmers revolt famine reaching the outside world. It cost us the lives of fifteen million independent farmers, but we were determined to go through with our collectivism plans.

To promote communism we are compelled to destroy men. As high as sixty or seventy percent of slave populations sometimes have to be liquidated or sent to concentration camps. If the people of the United States realized that millions of them will be assassinated or sent to concentration camps and their wealth and natural resources destroyed, and religion, labor unions and education controlled if they came under our rule, they might lose more of their apathy and lethargy.

Our first step in subjugating a country to our rule is to send in specialists in propaganda, agitation and organization. This Fifth Column undermines the government and hands it over to us. Next we destroy leadership. In Poland, 95% of the people hate us, but we destroyed their leaders and they have no one to follow.

We have developed a force of 50,000 communists in the United States and ten times as many fellow travelers. Gullible and simple minded Americans help finance them and aid our progress.

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The approved does is fighting us by endeavoring to block our thrusts.

No one ever won a fight by blocking. As in boxing we throw our opponent off guard by feinting -- accuse him of all sorts of things -- to gain advantages as he stands in confusion.

The United States is dangerous in a military war - the only kind of a war they understand. What makes us invincible is that we have engaged this enemy in a psychological war that he doesn't know how to fight.

Victory will crown our efforts because we capitalize on the ruthless use of power without moral Christian restrictions. We are patient - we zig and zag as need be. We will win because we must win. Free enterprise and Christianity and freedom cannot live side by side with our beloved communism.

* * * * *

Now let us take a few deep breaths of good, clean Indiana air and lose our identity as G-2, and thank our God that we can revert to freedom loving Americans who embrace and love our individual liberty and freedom that only our form of democracy can provide.

As we revert to G-3, we now have our appreciation of the objective to make our vitally essential plans to meet effectively the challenge of communism. We now recognize that we must win one of two conflicts to defeat the avowed objective of the communists of world domination -- either the ideological conflict or the military. Exactly what is ideological warfare. . . or psychological warfare?

Very simply, it is the selling of idea to masses of people. It is a war of ideals and ideas. It has many ramifications, which we shall discuss.

If the idea of communism should ever be sold to the masses in America . . . which is entirely within the realm of possibility . . . then our ideals of democracy and freedom would no longer exist in this country.

We now recognize that the future of the world may well be decided by political rather than military warfare.

We now recognize that the most important struggle during the next fifty or one hundred years will be the struggle to win the minds of men throughout the world. Even the greatest victories on the battlefield will mean nothing unless we win the war of ideas.

We must take the offensive and initiative -- no longer letting the communists call the shots and move at will. Defensive strategy never results in victory.

First we must recognize that the psychological propaganda conflict in war -- war in reality, and victory -- can and must be our only objective.

~~Our moral attitude must be clear and simple. We abhor red communism and are determined to work with freedom loving peoples (within or without the iron and bamboo curtains) to defeat the objectives of communism by all means at our disposal.~~
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We must declare an international declaration of independence to let the

enslaved peoples know that we will work with them to bring about a collapse of the red hierarchy and bring them freedom - to give new hope and purpose to their objectives.

Our policy of containment is not enough. The Third War, Russian style, was launched in 1947 by aggression in Greece. Since then we have spent 160 billion dollars causing us inflation and high taxes, but Russia is today stronger than ever. Our Secretary of State has estimated that this policy to succeed may have to continue another twenty years. On the basis of cost up to now this would destroy not only the American economy (which the Marxists confidently predict) but it would destroy America.

Our program has been one of stumbling, halting day to day decisions to checkmate Russia as she moved from place to place. We started five years ago with the Truman plan to aid Greece and Turkey. Next came the Marshall Plan of aid to under-developed areas. Following were the North Atlantic Treaty, the Mutual Assistance Pact and the Mutual Security Act.

In Asia we also shifted our policy like a weathervane in a high wind. For instance in Korea we showed interest, abandoned interest, and then (with Red aggression) we decided to send planes and then land troops. We went into Korea to accomplish three objectives - to halt aggression, establish unity and to obtain peace with honor. Now we seek a truce without accomplishing any of these objectives.

Stalin holds power only through control over secret police and the Army. His purges leave bitterness behind. Industry remains primitive by comparison with ours. Transportation is weak. Russian people resent the few privileged communist rulers and are susceptible to friendship and liberation with encouragement and assistance from us.

There are defectionists in Czechoslovakia, Poland, China and all satellite countries who ~~are looking to us for aid.~~ look to us for aid.

Counterattack must be geared to the weaknesses of the enemy.

Our greatest weapon is the spoken truth. Realistic, informed expressed public opinion can exploit this weapon. We are a nation of salesmen and must formulate a sales plan and sales organization to sell freedom in practical terms.

Sabotage, slow-downs and passive resistance behind the Iron Curtain can engage communism in a day and night struggle, and with our encouragement Fifth Column opportunities appear in many areas. Hundreds of thousands of refugees can be mobilized and utilized to cause new thousands to break the bonds of captivity by our moral and economic help. A breakup of the communist block from within would avoid a third war and yet overthrow communist imperialism.

The degree of unhappiness and discontent within the Russian empire is
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pictured as more intense than in any part of the world. There already have been

at least 32 **Approved For Release 2002/10/10 : CIA-RDP80R01731R003000270077-0**
more backfires to keep the big red fire engine busy at home. Can anyone think of
a better way to spare American lives than by creating conditions which will cause
the enslaved to revolt and break up dictatorship regimes.

We are not urging a preventive war, but we must strengthen the spirit of
the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. The will to overcome tyranny can be
encouraged by appealing to the tradition of the oppressed to revolt against
despots.

Our tools are many, but we must shed strict legalisms and protocol and
red tape. It is just as moral to encourage the establishment of governments
friendly to us - by intervention - as it is to wait until the situation deteriorates
to chaos and then to shoot it out.

Our courses of action are varied and complex. The problem of communism
is internal and external and the solutions are both positive and negative in
application. During the short time I have been National Commander I have met with
Dr. Wilson Compton, head of the International Information Agency; General Walter
Bedell Smith, head of Central Intelligence Agency and a native of Indiana, General
William J. (Wild Bill) Donovan, wartime head of the OSS, with displaced persons
from behind the Iron Curtain, with Karl Baarslag, our American Legion expert in
this field, and a number of others. I shall continue to meet with others who have
similar experience to endeavor to gain the information necessary to implement the
American Legion mandates to develop and coordinate a constructive ideological
warfare program. Our first objective in the field of National Security has always
been to avert war and only secondly to be able to fight effectively if war is
thrust upon us.

In the words of Wild Bill Donovan - "there are two approaches - the
power play and the hidden ball". The power play is strengthening our National
defense - always a prime objective of The American Legion as a deterrent to ag-
gressors. The hidden ball means psychological warfare and continuous vigilance to
combat communism in our midst.

The internal problem must be met by fighting communists with the white
light of publicity wherever they raise their ugly heads or crawl out from under
the rocks.

The external problem must be met with a program of expanding our infor-
mation service - making the Voice of America the voice of all America, maintaining
a superior intelligence system and developing all means of communication to reach
the masses of countries still free and let them know what our democracy and our
form of free economy will do to help them, still protecting the liberties and
freedom that communism would destroy, as well as to reach thousands behind the
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Iron Curtain and give them moral assistance, direction in their objectives and
encouragement.

personal responsibility. All of us will be judged in the final reckoning by our apathy, our silence, our indifference and our acts of omission.

Business men can contribute time, money and effort to establish a well-endowed foundation for the study, exposure and intelligent combatting of this deadly menace. Think it over! There is money for everything under the sun except the combatting and eradication of one force - communism - which is bent upon the total destruction of the very economic system which makes all our foundations possible.

We need also a better business bureau type of organization to protect Americans from being swindled and hornswoggled by Stalin's busy and highly adroit grafters and confidence men. The American Legion has such an organization and a publication, "The Firing Line", to further this aim in directing the activities of our own membership.

There are less than a dozen schools or colleges which can boast a well organized and competently taught course or program on the subject I have been discussing - the greatest single challenge and menace to our society. Compare this with the number of political warfare schools at home and abroad of the communists.

The basis of ideology is in the schools. It is vitally essential to emphasize Americanism in the schools as well as to get communism out.

Religious leaders can help materially. The greatest single force in the World today is moral force, and religion provides a common meeting ground in all countries.

The challenge applies to those in the entertainment field, to government, to industry, to labor, to everyone here - and that means YOU.

We as veterans have the responsibility to mold public opinion in America and through America's leadership in the world. We must recognize our responsibility at once and form our battle plans for victory - the hour is later than you think. How we shall meet that challenge depends upon everyone of us.

Today is the birthday of the immortal Hoosier poet, of my Dad's hometown of Greenfield, James Whitcomb Riely, and all of us might recall his famous words - "The Gobble-uns'll git you - ef you don't watch out".

An adequate understanding of the problem and intelligent coordinated planning to utilize our most effective weapons and our most promising courses of action will save us, and nothing else.

Vigilance, courage, and determination must once again become American watchwords and traits.